Survey

ROLF THEIL ENDRESEN, KNUT KRISTIANSEN

KHOWAR STUDIES

(Pl. LVII-LX)

1. Khowar studies and Georg Morgenstierne

E tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen qui primus potuisti…

When the Norwegian Institute of Comparative Research in Human Culture in 1924 sent Georg Morgenstierne on his first linguistic mission to the north-western frontier of India and Afghanistan, Khowar, the most important language of Chitral, was not included in the group of languages he intended to study. His diary, still unpublished, does not even mention Khowar—not till he is settled in Bagh-i Babur outside Kabul where one of the government servants was a Chitrali. His name was Nur Muhammad. He came from the Teric Valley under Teric Mer (Tirich Mir), Upper Chitral, and lived for some twenty years in Kabul. This remarkable man was a repository of folklore, and Georg Morgenstierne could not resist the temptation of collecting his best tales and a few of his songs.

Khowar studies were in their infancy in 1924. The main features of this very archaic Indo-Aryan language were known from short grammatical notes and a few scanty vocabularies put together by British travellers and officers. G. W. Leitner and J. Biddulph had provided a basis for further studies. The first had called the language *Arnyia*. Biddulph used *Kho* to denote both the speakers and their country and called their language *Khowar*. Captain D. J. T. O'Brien of the 15th Sikhs gave the title *Grammar and vocabulary of the Khowâr dialect (Chitrâli)* to a delightful book published in Lahore 1895. It is full of blank pages for memoranda and has a pencil attached to it. This suited Georg Morgenstierne's own ideas of a grammar. We have in our possession his worn copy and remember how the cryptic sentences of O'Brien always appealed to his sense of humour: "Ibex skin is best for pubboos", "Do you want your polo-stick? No my khud-stick".

There was of course also Colonel B. E. M. Gurdon's Khowar material in the Linguistic Survey of India "revised on the spot by Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, Native assistant political agent", a most remarkable man, whose name is closely connected with early linguistic work in NW-India, and who was, according to E. B. Howell, "perhaps better acquainted with Khowar than any other living educated man". Georg Morgenstierne met him in Chitral in 1929.

Christian missions established in Peshawar do not seem to have taken up Khowar studies. We know only two chapters from The Bible in Khowar translation: *The story of Nathan and David* (2. Samuel xii. 1-6) in J. Davidson: "Notes on the Bashgali (Kāfir) language", Calcutta 1902, and *The Parable of the Prodigal Son* (Luke xv, 11-32) used as a specimen text in the Linguistic Survey of India.

Khowar literature was even less known. J. Biddulph had given three folk-songs (*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta 1880, pp. 88 sq.) One is historical. The second is a love song. The third is also a romantic song, attached to the memory of Yorman Hamin, whose grave could still be seen in Upper Chitral in the 1870-ies. Among Georg Morgenstierne's papers are notes for a new edition.

Nizám-ul-Mulk, Raja of Yasin, had collected fables, legends and songs for G. W. Leitner. The texts were never published, only a translation "from Persian or Chitrâli" as indicated in *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1891. Most interesting is a short song, "an attempt to render the pretty tune of a more wordly Laila and Majnûn song, which reminds one of the "Yodeln" of the Tyrolese. It was sung to me by Taighûn Shah, the poet-minstrel of the Raja, to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar". There follows what must be the first musical notation of a Chitrali song.

More information is found in H. C. Thomson: *The Chitral Campaign. A narrative of events in Chitral, Swat, and Bajour*, London 1895. He writes (p. 277): [Captain O'Brien] "very kindly obtained for me the words of some Chitrali songs, of which I have made a translation. They are all love songs. I tried hard to get some war songs as well, but the Chitralis assured us that they had none, that they had only love songs; and this I believe must be the case, for Captain Townshend told me that when the musicians were playing in the summer-house during the construction of the mine, they kept continually singing the first of the songs I have translated, which is a particularly sentimental love song. I have given the Chitrali words also, in order to show the metre…

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cannot be made too ugly. The Chitrālis bolt and the Kāfirs express their joy by grotesque dancings; but their triumph is short-lived, for the brave prince has only been dissembling, and speedily returns with an enormous sword, to put the Kāfirs to death..." (loc. cit. pp. 7-8). Is this the only reference we have to Chitrali plays? Were they ballets or pantomimes or literary compositions? But cf. note!

Eastern music cannot have appealed to Robertson's taste. He writes about "the shakes and quavers so admired in the East" and about a musician who "with a kind of flageolet generally creeps up behind and tries to accompany them (i.e. the two singers), but never seems to succeed"! He was evidently more at ease with story-telling:

"Perhaps the pleasantest evenings of all are passed in listening to stories of fairies and prodigies. A sympathetic attitude and an interested manner are frequently rewarded by tales of fairies, with their feet turned backwards, carried along on the wind, of hag-ridden horses, or of the terrible mischief worked by supernatural agency in those barns where tribute grain is concealed from the Mehtar. The speaker is usually telling of events which have come under his own observation or that of some of his friends and relations. This gives a note of sincerity to the narrative. As in India your native groom actually sees the frightful ghost spring from a tree, and afterwards tells you the story, with starting eyeballs and a damp brow, so the Chitrāli, in equally good faith, relates his fables... (loc. cit. p. 9).

The same Robertson, who is also responsible for the most malicious characterization of the Chitrali people, acquired for himself a most deserved place in Khowar folklore. In one of the four folk songs E. B. Howell (*Some songs of Chitral*, Calcutta 1908) got from Munshi Kuli Khan, Native political assistant in Chitral, we read:

Robaṭson noġori dol
    Fath 'Ali Šo gani
Ṭhe di boko žayim
    Muhammad 'Isa gani.

"Robertson, with Fath Ali Shah, is pent in the fort; then with Muhammad Isa's aid shall I steal his wife". And in the triumphant refrain:

'Ajab, Kafir, di tu tan,
ta surat dodoro tan,
ta kapal ġaḷbelo tan,
ta marak ḍaq awa tan,
woy 'koros kura Lanḍan?

"Strange, infidel, indeed art thou. Thy form is wolf-like; thy head is as a sieve. I am the lad to slay thee. Thou shalt cry, "Ah me"! for London, where is it?"

To provide reading material for the Indian Civil Service B. E. M. Gurdon, at that time Assistant political agent, Chitral, edited a book of tales: *Translation of the Ganj-i-Pakhto into the Khowar dialect by Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan. Dated Chitral, the 28th March 1902* and printed in Calcutta. It is a little strange that Gurdon, who might as well have ordered tales from Chitral for this first Khowar reader, chose a bunch of Pashto tales from the Kalid-i afġānī by T. P. Hughes. It is also a pity that the Romanized writing is phonologically underdifferentiated. Very few copies of this book are extant. There is one in the library of The Indo-Iranian Institute of the University of Oslo.

The most representative collection of Khowar texts preserved was taken down by D. L. R. Lorimer. His very valuable material, for the most part unpublished, was bequeathed to *The School of Oriental and African Studies, London*. A list shows large quantities of texts from Chitral (1915) and Yasin (1922-24) with translation. Later he checked much of his material on his expedition to Gilgit and Hunza 1934-35. About his first studies of Khowar his wife Emily Lorimer writes (in her charming book *Language hunting in the Karakoram*, London 1939, p. 19): "Next came Khowar, the language of Chitral, of which David had made a preliminary study during nine months as Political Agent there during the War. To my bitter grief I had not been allowed to accompany him, and so had missed his first steps in Khowar. Though by listening I learnt enough for typing and indexing purposes, I always felt this delightful language something of a step-child compared with Shina, and I never attempted to speak it. The "Royal Families" of Yasin and Punial are descendants of the Chitral Khushwaqts, who had conquered parts of the Agency two hundred years ago. They retain their native language and have, to a certain extent, imposed it as a second language on the upper strata of their subjects. Throughout the Agency it is therefore regarded as a polite language, meet for chiefs. In the same way as for Shina, DL collected texts, notes, vocabulary, and all the data for a scientific grammar to supplement his considerable material from Chitral, noting how very trivial were the differences between the two varieties of Khowar".

D. L. R. Lorimer sums up his contribution to Khowar studies in his *Report to Leverhulme Research Fellowships Committee on expedition to Gilgit and Hunza ... 1934-1935* (MS copy, dated 7-1-1936, p. 18):

"*Khowar*. Revision of my 1923-4 Vocabulary of probably about 7000 entries with a view chiefly to phonetic corrections, but also to the clearing up of a certain number of meanings. This resulted in 138 qto pp. of notes, including illustrations and a certain number of new words, apart from phonetic corrections wh. were incorporated in the text of the Vocabulary. A few odd items were added e.g. scheme of the seasons and seasonal activities and plans of two types of house in use in Yasin". And in a note: "I have masses of Khowar Texts collected in 1915 and 1923".

A perusal of these "masses"—31 Yasini texts, and from Chitral 16 prose texts and 20 verse texts—has convinced us that Lorimer's material should be the basis of future Khowar studies. What a pity that it is stacked away in a magazine!

Letters in The Indo-Iranian Institute, Oslo, show that Georg Morgenstierne collaborated with D. L. R. Lorimer, at least after his own field work in Kabul 1924. One of the letters from Lorimer (dated 1-1-1927) is in Khowar! Unfortunately their planned joint work never materialized.

In Kabul Georg Morgenstierne had focused his field work on more 'exotic' languages than Khowar. But he rescued from oblivion 9 tales and some songs dictated by Nur Muhammad. His notebooks are no longer extant, but a transcript of 108 foolscap pages and a draft translation with only a few lacunae are in his bequest to The Indo-Iranian Institute.

His second linguistic mission to North-Western India 1929 is better documented. When he died on March the 3rd 1978 there was on his writing table an unfinished manuscript: extracts from letters to his wife Agnes Morgenstierne written in 1929. These, which have been completed by his daughter Eva Lorentzen, make it possible to follow his steps from day to day.

We find very little about Khowar studies. No wonder when we see what a linguist's day was like! "2. April. Today has been very busy. First, before breakfast, came a Bannuchi Pathan. Mr. Lawther had mentioned to a sub-inspector that I would like to hear some of the Pashto dialects from that district. He stayed till after breakfast. Then came one of the Pashais bringing a man from one of the side-valleys of the Kunar, Aret. He spoke an entirely new and unknown and very divergent Pashai (or is it a separate language?) A couple of hours with him, only interrupted by Khattaks and Bannuchis from the police whom I had to examine on their dialect to show my gratitude. Then

came another Pashai who told me some stories... Before lunch there came an envoyé from the timber dealer of Naushehra, this time bringing two Kohistanis, one from Palôs in the Indus Valley, and one from Torwâl in Upper Swat... After a couple of hours' work with them, before and after tea, I felt that I had done a day's work". A few days later we find him on his way to Chitral, escorted by Chitralis "*with flowers in their woollen caps*" (underlined in the MS). He speaks Khowar with them and gets plant names for his vocabulary.

Settled in Chitral Georg Morgenstierne was distracted by a busy bazar swarming with informants. His 'fac totum', faithful servant and friend Yasin Khan tracked them down for him and brought them for closer investigation. There is little about Khowar, until "11. June. A refreshing night. Less than 20° C when I got up. Yasin comes to discuss the day's menu with me. "What would I like from the Bazar? A freshly arrived Wakhi for breakfast? Or perhaps a light Turki hors-d'œuvre? A good portion of Munjani as a pièce de résistance? And some Kalasha for dessert?" What he had suggested came true. For breakfast he brought a Chitrali, who told me a tale *before* breakfast. He came from the capital and had a cockney pronunciation, not at all the distinct diction I was used to with the man from the Teric Valley I worked with in Kabul..." This informant must be *Kadir* who is responsible for text 9 of the unpublished material from Chitral. The rest comes from Muhammad Zarin from Shagram in Turikho, "at that time an elderly man, and for many years a resident of Chitral Village. He was a very good and intelligent informant. "Of his tales Georg Morgenstierne published no 2 (*A Khowar tale*. Indian linguistics 16. 1955.) We have selected no 1 for this paper. The rest—2 tales and 4 songs—are still in manuscript.

The diary shows that Georg Morgenstierne had intended to do more work on Khowar before he left Chitral. On account of illness and heavy rains and floods all over the country, he was forced to give up his original plan of returning to India via Gilgit and Kashmir. Instead he went over the Lowarai and reached Peshawar on Sept. 6th.

His field work on Khowar many years later resulted in three important linguistic papers: *Iranian elements in Khowar* (1936), *Some features of Khowar morphology* (1947) and *Sanskritic words in Khowar* (1957).

Contact with Chitral was in later years kept up through correspondence with Prince Husam-ul-Mulk, who passed away in 1977, leaving behind treasures of Khowar folklore, and with Wazir Ali Shah, who

more than anybody else has earned a name in Khowar studies. For Georg Morgenstierne he collected songs and traditions. The manuscripts are now in The Indo-Iranian Institute, Oslo. Points of translation and grammar were discussed in more than 60 letters, the first of which dates from April 1953. Many of them are in Romanized Khowar. Some of this information was utilized in the edition of *Some Khowar songs*, *by* Wazir Ali Shah and Georg Morgenstierne (1959).

Khowar as a literary language is in statu nascendi. Fortunately Georg Morgenstierne lived long enough to see the beginning of literary activities among Chitralis. A few prints found their way to Norway. It is important today to gather material for a future bibliography. We therefore give a list of prints in The Indo-Iranian Institute:

1. *Khowār bol-cāl* wa Mu'āvin-i saiyāḥ-i Citrāl. (Khowar phrase book, or help for the traveller in Chitral.) By Muḥammad Ṣamṣām al-Mulk Citrālī. Peshawar 1959 or earlier. Pp. 40. Text in Khowar and Urdu. Arabic script. This booklet was used as a text-book in Oslo University for what was probably the first Khowar examination in the world.
2. *Khowār qā'ida.* Ba-rā'e jamā'at-i awwal. (First reader). By Muḥammad Ṣamṣām al-Mulk Citrālī. Peshawar, no date. Pp. 40, ill. Khowar text in Arabic script.
   Cf. letter from Ḥusām al-Mulk 18-2-1959: "Lately my son has compiled a course book for first primary class. It has been recommended by the educational authorities of Chitral State... I have myself written a *Khowar self-taught*. I enclose the first two pages".
3. *Nimež.* (Book of prayers). By Muḥammad Ḥusām al-Mulk. No date. Pp. 27. Foreword in Khowar. Arabic prayers with interlinear Khowar translation.
4. *Xūš waṭan.* (Poems). Peshawar, no date. Pp. 16, ill.
   Cf. letter from Ḥusām al-Mulk 20-1-1970: "This year Chitral State along with Dir and Swat has been merged in Pakistan. The Government has arranged to have a monthly magazine. The first copy of it I am directing to you. You will find my photo on the first page having one of my grand-daughters in my lap. The rest is comprized of Chitrali new poets". Is this the first number of *Jumhūr-i Islām*?
5. [*Jumhūr-i Islām*] The Monthly Jamhoor-e-Islam. Kohwar (sic!) (Chitral) Peshawar
   Vol. 8 (1977-8). Dec. Feb.-March. April-May. July.
   Vol. 9 (1978-). Aug. Sept.-Oct. Nov.-Dec.

For information we also include a *List of Khowar manuscript material, for the most part unpublished, bequeathed to The Indo-Iranian Institute of the University of Oslo by Georg Morgenstierne*:

Khowar. M. (= *Morgenstierne*)

M.I. Texts. Kabul. 1924. 1-20.
9 tales. 11 songs.
Informant: *Nur Muhammad, from the Teric Valley, Upper Chitral.*
Pp. 1-108.

M.II. Texts. Kabul. 1924. 1-3. 18.
Revised text in different systems of transcription. Pp. 70.

M.III. Texts. Kabul. 1924. 1-20.
Draft translation (with a few lacunae). Pp. 1-164.

M.IV. Texts. Chitral. 1929. 1-9.
6 tales. 3 songs.
Informants: *Muhammad Zarin, from Shagram in Turikho.* Text 1-8. (5 tales. 3 songs).
Kadir. Text 9. (1 tale).

M.V. Texts. Chitral. 1929. 1-9.
Draft translation (with a few lacunae).
Pp. 165-176.

M.VI. Vocabularies Khowar-English.
1. Hand list with etymological notes. Pp. 60.
2. Hand list with etymological notes. Pp. 57.
3. Khowar vocabulary. With references to *R. L. Turner*: "A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages". Lond. 1966. 7 note books.

Khowar. W. (= *Wazir Ali Shah*)

W.I. Khowar songs. 1-22.
MS of 9 Old Songs (OS), 3 Modern Songs (MS) and 10 Miscellaneous Songs (MiscS). Text and translation. Received Nov. 1954. List of corrigenda 12-2-1955.

W.II. Khowar songs. 23-29. Text and translation. Received Dec. 1954.

W.III. Khowar songs. 30-32. 3 Old songs. Text and translation. Received Jan. 1956.

W.IV. Khowar songs. 33-34. 2 songs for a mushaira in Chitral 1958. Text and translation. Received April 1958.

W.V. Chitrali proverbs. 1-74. Text and translation. Received Dec. 1954.

W.VI. Vocabularies.
1. Khowar-English. Pp. 1-8.
2. English-Khowar. 12 columns.
3. List of place-names.

Some of the Khowar songs 1-33 are known in other versions, either from Georg Morgenstierne's own texts or from Lorimer's. As more variants are likely to turn up, we add what information we have

got by giving *the name of the song, the name of the poet*—if known—and *the first line*. If the song has already been published in *Some Khowar songs*, by Wazir Ali Shah and Georg Morgenstierne (1959) we refer to it by number:

1. Katuro Dani. By *Mehtar Katur.*
   "Ta duro ten pon, ma žan coktu ĝernaĝer no-a?" (= 7.)
2. By *Šer-i Mulk Mehtarjaw.*
   "Gulaban i tu diti ṣa šutren band konian".
3. Yormas Bigim. Sung by *a Mehtar of Šoĝor.*
   "Šoĝoro gazo ma bulbul yu goy". (= 8.)
4. By *Ašur Jan.* A very old song, but the exact date not known. Variants known from Lorimer and Morgenstierne.
   "Roy ma nano ten renian: Ta ya žaw gaderi waswasi". (= 4.)
5. Sung by *Malang of Sonoĝur.*
   "Royan beri nisur ei! Bathana mas tori šer ma dust goyan saylo".
6. By *Abdul Murad Xan,* Hakim of Yarxun.
   "Awa ju kaḷum neziko tu ko benaša".
7. Unknown poet.
   "Asmana mas i nisai istarian gani".
8. Yorman Hamin. By *Muhammad Siar Lal.*
   "Tu ki darya-yi šur šur, ta pruṣṭa ĝernanu awa". (= 9.)
9. Xoš Bigim. By *Aman of Ĝezur.*
   "Ei la, no laḷimian Amano. Aman phur phuren kasiran".
10. By *Nawab.*
   "Sonoĝar ta tato wathan, Parwak ta ĝari".
11. By *Širin of Kesu.*
   "Azado troy darwešan just biti naša asusi".
12. By *Širin of Kesu.*
   "Loḷur, ei jam royan, diš dunio kašmakašan sar niki xalasi". (= 5.)
13. Cuḷ oce parcam. By *Ašur Jan.*
   "Cuḷan ten kya mo ror. Cuḷ nanginian boni, cuḷ beeginian boni".
14. Mourning songs:
   a. For *Begal.*
      "Dara ta sayurj ẓixuran tan nano Begal". (= 13.)
   b. *Wazir Carwelu.* Sung by his sister on his being murdered.
      "Ta peç ka no birani ta awladan muži".
   c. Unknown. Sung by a sister in memory of a murdered brother in Kesu.
      "Maṣki alonian kayo dinar ta Çhetraro ten".
15. War song. Addressed to the Commander of the Afghan forces which in the 1919 war invaded Birkot, and were repulsed by the Chitralis.
   "Birkoṭ ma Mitaro haq, ta kya dawa". (= 2.)
16. Duk žur. Sung at the time of sending off a daughter.
   "Nan ei žur ei, reman".
17. Labour song, sung by men while bringing grass from the pastures to the village.
   "Jamilo Bego, Jamilo Bego".

18. Lullaby.
"Ta catiro kura dom ei? Ta catiro hago dom".
19. Hup diko bašonu.
Sung by small girls jumping up and down.
"Gye hup gey, xarxaļico nišpeļi gey, kanduo te sot ġeri gey".
20. Šaro bašonu. A dialogue between mother markhor and fawn, when the father had been hit by a bullet.
"Nan ei, nan ei, af hera moš goyan". (= 11.)
21. Šikar song.
"Lal bayu bando ei".
22. The goat's song. A goat sings to its careless shepherd.
"Awa ki ta pay biret, xabar gane ma halo ten". (= 12.)
23. "Ei Allah, ta nam loļ, bo loļ šer ta pak zad".
24. "Zan ei žan, žoyo teken kose ki".
25. Love song by unknown poet.
"Ma pari afo te bağay, af hov Ceġašo te bağay".
Cf. Nur Muhammad's text: "Ma xoš afo te bağay, haw oce ġašo te biran". (= 10.)
26. "La ayh loļur royan, asman helu biru".
27. "Ḍaq çhan çhorio çhan išqo kanar yu çhori asum".
28. "La ma duro drokalen sipahi bağay".
29. "La awa xafa re, žan re tan dusto".
30. By *Jahin*.
"Mahmud Šah ei ta armana, Metaro nowes ta armana". (= 1.)
31. By *Mohammad Šakur Attaliq*.
"Ei dil tu yake sayr ba alam no koros ko?"
32. Ġazal. By *Prince Tajamul Šah*.
"Duniai asiko qarar niki".
33. Patriotic song. By *Major Rahmat Karim*. For a mushaira in Chitral 1958.
"Beheşto sar jam royo wathan". (= 3.)
34. Ġazal. By *Šahzada Hisamul Mulk*. For a mushaira in Chitral 1958.
"Tu jam ki laļis mit drust mažardoyu". (= 6.)

Note. The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston: *Leaves from a Viceroy's note-book and other papers*, London 1926, p. 100 refers to the same type of "theatre": "Not less fond are the Chitralis of dancing; and the Mehtar organised for my entertainment, while at Chitral, a nocturnal performance round an immense bonfire. Dancing is confined to the male sex, and admits if not of grace, at least of agility ... There was also some rude but effective acting, a mimic combat taking place between some supposed Kafirs, rude half-clad fellows with wild locks, armed only with sticks, and a party of Afghans (who, as Pathans, are detested by the Chitralis), in which the Kafirs scattered and floored the Afghans amid shouts of laughter. The singing also I heard, but did not admire".

2. The Odyssey in Chitral?
(Khowar text Morgenstierne IV.1. "Ju rafeqân". Told by Muhammad Zarin, Chitral 1929. Text, translation, vocabulary.)

JU RAFEQÂN
TWO COMRADES

1. Ju rafeqân biráni. 2. Bathánari bógdu, safáro te.
Two comrades were. From (their) country they went, travel-on.

3. Póna bi boh xezmát birú. 4. Biçhéiru,
On road walking very tired they became. They rested,

tan múži lu dirú 5. "Kiwáli ki boh
themselves-among word they gave (= spoke): "Whoever that very

xezmát biti asúr, hátoġo hase iwáli dok
tired become is, him that one (= other) (on his) back

korár". 6. Hâse iwáli rétay ki: 7. "Jam. Kos
shall make (= put)". That other said that: "Well. Whom-

sora ki boh mušaqáti giti šer, hase tan lûo diár".
on that much distress come is, he his word shall give".

8. Hase iwáli rétay: 9. "Jam, áwa tan lûo dom.
That (first-) one said: "Well, I my word shall tell.

10. I wáxta áwa báyu báġetam. 11. Boh kósitam.
At one time I hunting went. Much I wandered about.

i žága hátam ki i ġecén kánu naháng asúr.
one place I came that (= where) on one eye blind ogre is.

12. Hase ma te rétay ki: 13. "E brar, kúri bi asitaw?
He me-to said that: "Oh brother, where going were you?

14. Mušaqát biti asús, çhuy biti asús, truşni
Distressed become you are, hungry become you are, thirsty

biti asús. 15. Gye ma duró te, şapik ta te dom, uġ
become you are. Come my house-to, bread you-to I shall give, water

ta te dom". 16. Áwa "jam" re, hátoġo sum rahi
you-to I shall give". I "well" saying, him- with going made.

17. I báxo góna tóritam. 18. Háse prușți, áwa ác(h)a hatóu
A hole-near I (we?) arrived. He first, I after thither

báğetam. 19. Lóļitam ki boh loț xatán, šarán hatóu šer
went. I saw that (a) very big house, courtyard there is.

20. Boh moš niši asúni. 21. Háse nahángo dur biráy.
Many men sitting were. That ogre's house was.

22. Royán dosáw hatóu halieg biráy. 23. Nabát
People catching there he used to keep (them). Turn

nabáta paciáw žibág biráy. 24. Boh pay di
by-turn cooking (them) he used to eat (them). Many goats also

astáni, iwáli hatetan roçhág biráy. 25. Chuc(h)i alág biráy,
were, alone them he used to herd. In the morning he used to

wezén biko angyág biráy.
take (them) out, evening on-becoming he used to bring (them) back.

26. Har wezéna háse nahàng i mõšo oce i páyo randežú
In every evening the ogre one man and one goat 'kabáb'

korág biráy. 27. Wezén bikó háse nahàng i mõšo
used to make. Evening on-becoming the ogre one man

randežú arér, oyóy. 28. I payó randežú kori
'kabáb' made, (and) ate (him). One goat 'kabáb' having made

oyóy, póritay. 29. Áwa gúca phik
(he) ate (it), (and) fell asleep. I in a corner silent

biti lóļitam. 30. Naháng oróitay. 31. Awa riphi
having become looked. The ogre slept. I having risen

cumursúo yei gani angár tu lákhitam. 32. Hase peç
a spit out having taken fire- in I put. It hot

hoy. 33. Yei gani nahángo ğéco ișțoğéitam.
became. Out having taken (it) the ogre's eye (into) I thrust (it).

34. Naháng faryád arér, žirğéitay. 35. Žirğéi
The ogre complaining made, (and) wailed. Having wailed

lórtitay. 36. Kyawá(x)t ki chúc(h)i hoy, pažál
it rolled. As soon as morning became, the goatsherd (= the ogre)

payán gani rahi arér. 37. Áwa i payó chúyo
the goats having taken starting made. I one goat at night

kuši phósto niži hate phosto múžo útetam.
having killed the hide having skinned that skin- into entered.

38. Páyo kapálo tan kapála lákhitam. 39. Chór-póngi
The goat's head on my own head I put. On four feet

diti payán múža (or múži) uti
having given (= crept) the goats- among having entered

báğetam. 40. Baxár ayh nisétam. 41. Háya qesma
I went away. From the cave up I emerged. In this manner

biti háte saxtiari xalás hótam. 42. E brar,
having become from that difficulty released I became. Oh brother,

di tu lu det!" 43. Hase iwáli retay ki: 44. "Áwa i
also you word give!" That other said that: "I at one

wáxta i șapik-paciáko góna șadár óšotam. 45. I anús
time one bread-baker- with servant was. One day

šikár báğetam. 46. Boh kósitam, úğ-piáru ma hay.
hunting I went. Much I wandered about, thirst to me came.

47. Póna i dur širáy, áwa hátera báğetam. 48. Royán
On the road a house was, I there went. Of people

kos no póšitam. 49. Ka béri no nisáni. 50. I
anybody not I saw. Anybody outside not emerged. One

mukúļ yow nisáy. 51. Toğo banén phrétam. 52. Háse
monkey out emerged. It with a stick I struck. It

žirğéitay. 53. I kiméri yow nisáy, ma te rétay: 54. "E brar,
wailed. One woman out emerged, me-to said: "Oh brother,

mukúļo ko kósan?" 55. Hatoğo te awa rétam: 56. "E
the monkey why you beat?" Her- to I said: "Oh

ispusár, mukúļo háya bacén phrétam, ki ka
sister, the monkey for this reason I struck, that somebody

béri nisini" re. 57. Kiméri ác(h)i bağáy
outside might come" having said (-thinking). The woman back went.

58. Tan loṭhoróo te lu pray ki: 59. "I juwán béri
Her master- to word she gave that: "One young man outside

giti asúr. 60. Uǵ máṣkiran, çhuy máṣkiran". 61. Loṭhoró
has come. Water he asks for, hunger he asks for". (Her) master

rétay ki: 62. "Tóĝo yei hui det!" 63. Kiméri toĝó yei
said that: "Him hither calling give!" The woman him hither

máṣkitay dur tu. 64. Maristáno (*first* xezmatgáro) te rétay ki:
called house- into. The servant- to she said that:

65. "Tu béri boĝé", rétay. 66. Hase moš oce hase kiméri
"You outside go", she said. That man and that woman

hatéi hal honi. 67. Harúnia moš beri(y)ár hay.
there living became. Then (her) husband from outside came.

68. Hase juwán ... duró šarána chat ošoy.
That young man ... in the house's courtyard a pond was.

69. Hase moš hate cháto ĝéritay. 70. Áluko tan kapálo sora
That man into that pond fell down. A pumpkin his head-on

lákhitay. 71. Hase moš bortén diti hate alúko
he put. That husband with a stone having beaten that pumpkin

chinitay. 72. Hate móšo no póšitay. 73. Duro te baĝáy.
he broke. That man not he saw. Home-to he went.

74. Áwa uṣṭúritam. 75. Awa uṣṭúri ác(h)i giti hate
I fled. I having fled back having come that

ṣapik-paceáko te lu phretam: 76. "Hamúš (*or* hamúṣ) kórum
bread-baker- to word gave: "Such work

hoy". re. 77. Ṣapik-paceák rétay ki: 78. "E brar,
happened", saying. The bread-baker said that: "Oh brother,

háse dur kúra šer? 79. Ma pašáwe!" 80. "Jam", re,
that house where is? To me show (it)!" "Well", heaving said,

rahi aretam 81. Póna giti fikr áretam ki:
starting I made. On the road coming thinking I made that:

82. "Háse háte ṣapik-paceáko dur biráy. 83. Háya moš fándu
"That that bread-baker's house was. This man deceit-

sora ma tan dúra angiti, marir", re,
with me in his house having brought, will kill (me), having said

burtúitam. 84. Tóĝo te rétam ki: 85. "Ei brar,
(= thinking). I got afraid. Him- to I said that: "Oh brother,

awa xošp poši asum. 86. Luspa no biti šer. 87. Hase moš
I a dream have seen. ? not become is. That man

ác(h)i hay, ma gani, ác(h)i hay. 88. Hamóṣ ustadío
back came, me having seized, back came. Thus artifice-

sora tan sóro xalás áretam. 89. Áwa oce tu mušaqatia
with my own head released I made. I and you in distress

khal barabár asusi. 90. Iĝo ḍok kóriko
both equal we are. One (of us) (on the) back make (-take)

no bosi".
not we can".

TRANSLATION

1. There were two comrades. 2. They went away from their country on travel. 3. Walking on the road they became very tired. 4. They rested and said among themselves: 5. "Whichever has become most tired, him the other one shall take on his back". 6. The other one said: 7. "Well. On whom most distress has come, he shall tell his tale (i.e. Let each of us tell his tale that we may know who has suffered most.)". 8. The first one said: 9. "Well, I shall tell my tale:

10. Once I went hunting. 11. I wandered much about, and I came to a place where there was an ogre, blind on one eye. 12. He said to me. 13. "O brother, where are you going? 14. You have become distressed, you have become hungry, you have become thirsty. 15. Come to my house, I shall give you food, I shall give you water". 16. I said "well" and went away with him. 17. I arrived at a cave. 18. We went there, he first and I afterwards. 19. I saw that there was a very big house and a courtyard there. 20. Many men were sitting there. 21. It was that ogre's home. 22. Catching people he used to keep them there. 23. Each in his turn he used to cook them and eat them. 24. There were also many goats, and he alone used to herd them. 25. In the morning he used to take them out, and when

evening came, he used to bring them back. 28. Every evening the ogre used to make 'kabāb' of one man and one goat. 27. When evening came, the ogre roasted one man and ate him. 28. Having roasted one goat he ate it and fell asleep. 29. I, having hidden myself in a corner, looked on. 30. The ogre slept. 31. I rose and took up an iron spit and put it into the fire. 32. It became hot. 33. I took it out and thrust it into the ogre's eye. 34. The ogre cried and wailed. 35. Wailing he rolled about. 36. As soon as it dawned the herdsman (= the ogre) took the goats and made a start. 37. I had during the night killed a goat and stripped off the hide, and I entered into that hide. 38. The goat's head I put over my own head. 39. Creeping on all fours and entering among the goats I went away. 40. From the cave up I emerged. 41. In this manner I was released from that distress. 42. Oh brother, tell you also your tale!"

43. The other one said: 44. "Once I was a servant with a baker. 45. One day I went hunting. 46. I wandered much about and became thirsty. 47. On the road there was a house. I went up to it. 48. Of people I saw nobody. 49. Nobody came out. 50. A monkey came out. 51. I struck it with a stick. 52. It wailed. 53. A woman came out and said to me: 54. "Oh brother, why do you beat the monkey?" 55. I said to her: 56. "Oh sister, I beat the monkey for this reason that nobody came out". 57. The woman went back. 58. She told her master: 59. "A young lad has come. 60. He asks for water, he asks for hunger (sic! for: being hungry he asks for food)". 61. Her master said: 62. "Call him up here!" 63.The woman called him here into the house. 64. She said to her slave-girl: 65. "Go outside", she said. 66. That man and that woman stayed there together. 67. At a certain hour her husband came from outside. 68. The young man ... In the court-yard of the house there was a pond. 69. The young man dived down into that pond. 70. He put a pumpkin over his head. 71. (Her) husband struck the pumpkin with a stone and broke it. 72. He did not see the young man. 73. He went home. 74. I fled. 75. Having escaped I came back and told the baker: 76. "Such an affair has happened". 77. The baker said: 78. "O brother, where is that house? 79. Show it to me!" 80. Saying "well", I went away (with him). 81. While on the road I thought: 82. "That must be the baker's house. 83. This man, having brought me by deceit to his house, will kill me". So thinking, I got afraid. 84. I said to him: 85. "O brother, I have had a dream. 86. In the state of my being awake[1] it did not happen". 87. The man came back, seized me and came back. 88. In such a way I freed myself by trickery. 89. I and you are both equals as regards hardships. One of us cannot take the other on his back".

GLOSSARY

The entries are ordered alphabetically in this way:
a b c ç č d ḍ e f g ġ h i j k l ḷ m n o p q r s š ṣ t ṭ u w x y z ž ẓ

The content of the entries may be explained by means of two examples:

amis N day S 45 T 993

angiti Abs > *angik* S 83

The first entry is to be read this way:

"The wordform *amis* is a noun (= N) meaning "day".
It occurs in sentence number 45 (= S 45).
Its etymology is found on the number 993 in Turner (1966-71)".

Note also that no morphosyntactic category is mentioned for nouns in nominative singular, adjectives in positive nominative singular and verbs in infinitive. These forms are regarded as the "baseforms" of each lexeme.

The second entry is to be read in this way:

"The wordform *angiti* is the absolutive of *angik*.
It occurs in sentence number 83".

For wordforms which are nouns, adjectives or verbs in another form than the "baseform" no meaning or etymology is normally given, although the latter may be given in cases of suppletion. If the "baseform" occurs elsewhere in the glossary, it is referred to by means of ">". If it does not occur, the baseform is preceded by "of" and followed by a word class specification, a translation and a proposed etymology. Cf e.g. the following entry:

qesma 1LocSg of Lorimer *qism/qisum* N kind, sort, manner S 41 Prs
— which is to be read:

"The wordform *qesma* is the first locative singular of *qism/qisum*, which is a noun meaning "kind, sort, manner". It occurs in sentence 41.

[1] *luspa* is evidently 1LocSg of a noun **lusp*, cf. Xūš watan 9.6 1LocSg *luspa* and ibid. 11.4 2LocSg *luspi*. Neither Lorimer nor Morgenstierne gives the meaning. Georg Buddruss informs us that the word should be read ḷospa; with bi- the meaning is "to be in the state of being awake".

It is of Persian/Arabic origin. The nominative singular form is taken from Lorimer.

The following abbreviations are used in the glossary:

A	adjective	NAg	noun of agency
Abl	ablative	NDem	substantival demonstrative
Abs	absolutive		
ADem	adjectival demonstrative	Nom	nominative
		Obl	oblique
Ag	*see* NAg	Part	particle
Aor	aorist	Postp	postposition
Av	adverb	Pp	perfect participle
Conj	conjunction	Pres	present
Dem	demonstrative	Presp	present participle
Dur	durative	Pret	preterite
Imp	imperative	Prn	pronoun
Instr	instrumental	Refl	reflexive
1Loc	first locative	V	verb
2Loc	second locative	Voc	vocative
N	noun		

The grammatical terminology is that of Morgenstierne (1947).

GLOSSARY

ác(h)a Av after S 18
áchi Av back S 57 75 87
alág NAg > *alik* S 25
alik V take away, marry (a girl)
áluko/alúko OblSg of *alúk/alók* N pumpkin S 70 71
angár N fire S 31
angik V bring T 313 1174
angiti Abs > *angik* S 83
angyág NAg > *angik* S 25
anús N day S 45 T 993
arér 3SgPret > *korik* S 27 34 36
árétam 1SgPret > *korik* S 16 80 81 88
asik V be T 1480
asitaw 2SgPret > *asik* S 13
asitáni 3PlPret > *asik* S 24
asum 1SgAor > *asik* S 85
asúni 3PlAor > *asik* S 20
asür 3SgAor > *asik* S 5 11 59
asüs 2SgAor > *asik* S 14
asúsi 1PlAor > *asik* S 89
awa Prn 1Sg 1 S 9 10 16 18 29 31 37 44 47 55 74 75 85 89 T 902
ayh Av up S 40
bacén Postp on account of, for the sake of S 56
bagáy 3SgPret > *bik*^{2} S 57 73
bágetam 1SgPret > *bik*^{2} S 10 18 39 45 47
banén InstrSg of *ban* N stick, cane
barabár A equal S 89
bathánari AblSg of *bathán* N native country S 2
bax N hole, cave
baxár AblSg > *bax* S 40

báxo OblSg > *bax* S 17
báyu N hunting, game S 10 T 11545
béri Av outside S 49 56 59 65 T 9227
beri(y)ár AblSg > *béri* S 67
bi Abs > *bik*^{2} S 13
bicheiru Pp of *bichéik* V take rest S 4
bik^1 V become T 9416
bik^2 V go T 475-8 497 12157 12223
biko OblSg > *bik*^{1} S 25 27
biráy 3SgPret > *bik*^{1} S 21 22 23 24 25 26 82
biráni 3PlPret > *bik*^{1} S 1
biru Pp > *bik*^{1} S 3
biti biti Abs > *bik*^{1} S 5 14 29 41 86
bógdu Pp > *bik*^{2} S 2
bogé 2SgImp > *bik*^{2} S 65
boh Av very S 3 7 11 19 20 24 46 T 9187
bortén InstrSg of *bort* N stone S 71 T 11348
bosi 1PlAor of *bik*^{3} V be able to S 90 T 9476 (?)
brar N brother S 13 42 54 78 85 T 9661
burtúitam 1SgPret of *burtuik* V be afraid S 83
chat N pond, lake S 68
cháto OblSg > *chat* S 69
chinitay 3SgPret of *chinik* Vt break S 71 T 5046
chór-pingi 2LocSg, *chor* Num four T 4655, *pong* N foot T 7766 (7751), S 39
chúc(h)i 2LocSg of *chuc* N morning S 25 36 T 12511 14503
chúyo OblSg of *chuy* N night S 37 T 3652
cumursúo OblSg of *cumursú* N iron spit S 31 Cf *cumúr* N iron T 4496
çhuy A hungry S 14 60 T 3716
det 2SgImp > dik S 42 62
di Av also S 24 42 T 200
diár 3SgImp > *dik* S 7
dik V give T 5968 6141/5 6270
diru Pp > *dik* S 4
diti Abs > *dik* S 39 71
dom 1SgAor > *dik* S 9 15
dósan 2Sg DurPres > *dik* S 54
dosáw Presp of *dosik* V catch S 22
dur N house, home S 21 47 63 78 82 T 6423
dúra 1LocSg > *dur* S 83
durö/dúro OblSg > *dur* S 15 68 73
dok N back S 5 90 T 5566
e VocPart oh S 13 42 54 56 78
éi VocPart oh S 85
fándu OblSg of *fand/fan* N deceit S 83
faryád N complaining S 34 Prs
fikr N thinking S 81 Prs
gani Abs of *ganik* V take, seize S 31 33 36 87 T 4236^2
gik V come
giti/giti Abs > *gik* S 7 59 75 81
góna Postp 1LocSg together with, close to, near S 17 44
gúca 1LocSg of *guc* (KhVoc) N corner S 29
gye 2SgImp > *gik* S 15
ğec N eye T 43
ğecén InstrSg > *ğec* S 11
ğéco OblSg > *ğec* S 33
ğéritay 3SgPret of *ğerik* V fall S 69
hal A living, remaining S 66 Prs
haliég NAg of *haléik* V keep, stop S 22 Cf > *hal*
hamóy/hamuy A Av such, thus S 76 88
har A every S 26
harúnia Av then S 67
háse ADemPron that S 5 6 7 8 12 18 21 26 27 32 43 52 66 68 69 71 78 82 87 NDemPron that
hátum 1SgPret > *gik* S 11
háte non-OblSg > *háse* S 37 41 69 71 72 72 75 82
hatéi Av there S 66
hátera Av there S 47
hatetan OblPl of > *háse* NDemPron S 24
hátogo OblSg > *háse* NDemPron S 5 16 55
hatáu Av thither S 18 19 22
hay 3SgPret > *gik* S 46 67 87
háya ADemPron this S 41 56 83 T 587
honi 3PlPret > *bik*^{1} S 66
hótam 1SgPret > *bik*^{1} S 41
hoy 3SgPret > *bik*^{1} S 32 36 76
hüi N *hüi dik* call S 62
i Num one S 10 11 17 26 27 28 37 44 45 47 50 53 59 T 2462 11547
igo OblSg > *i* S 90
ispusár N sister S 56 T 9661 13913
isteğéitam 1SgPret of *isteğéik* V bore into, thrust into, pierce S 33

iwáli Pron the one (or) the other (of two) S 5 6 8 24 43

jam A good S 7 9 16 80

ju Num two S 1 T 6648

juwán N young man S 59 68

ka Pron somebody, anybody, who S 49 56 T 2574

kánu A blind S 11 T 3019-21

kapál N head, skull T 2744

kapála 1LocSg > *kapál* S 38

kapálo OblSg > *kapál* S 38 70

khal Pron both S 89

ki Conj that, if, when, who, which S 5 6 7 11 12 18 36 43 56 58 61 64 77 81 84 T 3164

kiméri N woman S 53 57 63 66 T 3303

kiwáli Pron whoever S 5

ko Av why S 54

koráǵ NAg > *korik* S 26

korár 3SgImp > *korik* S 5

kori Abs > *korik* S 28

korik V make, do T 2814

kóriko OblSg > *korik* S 90

kórum N work S 76 T 2892

kos Obl(Sg) > *ka* S 7 48

kóšitam 1SgPret of *kosik* V wander about S 11 46 T 3137

kúra Av 1LocSg where S 78 T 3271-2

kúri Av 2LocSg where S 13 T 3271-2

kuli Abs of KhVoc *ku-* V kill S 37 Prs? or T 3364 3544

kyáwat ki ki Conj as soon as S 36

lak(h)ik V let, allow, leave

lákhitam I put 1SgPret > *lak(h)-ik* S 31 38

lákhitay he put 3SgPret > *la-k(h)ik* S 70

lóritam 1SgPret of *lolik* V see, look at, regard S 19 29

lórtitay 3SgPret of *lortik* V roll, take a roll (about a horse, etc.) S 35 T 11156

loṭ A big, large, old S 19

loṭhoró Comp > *loṭ* S 61 Here: master

loṭhorúo OblSg > *loṭhoró* S 58

lu N word S 4 42 58 75 T 10934-5

lúo OblSg > *lu* S 7 9

luspa 1LocSg of *lusp* N being awake S 86

ma Obl > *áwa* S 12 15 46 53 79 83 87 T T 9691

marir 3SgAor of *marik* V kill S 83 T 10066

maristáno Obl.Sg. of *maristán* N servant, slave S 64 T 9874

maskik V want, search for, summon

máskran 3SgDurPres > *maskik* S 60

máskitay 3SgPret > *maskik* S 63

moš N man, husband S 20 66 67 69 71 83 87

mošo OblSg > *moš* S 26 27 72

mukúl N monkey S 135 T 9882

mukúlo OblSg > *mukúl* S 54 56

mulaqát A distressed S 14

mulaqáti N distress S 7

mulaqatia 1LocSg > *mulaqáti* S 89

muž N middle, center T 9804

múža Postp 1LocSg > *muž* S 39

múži Postp 2LocSg > *muž* S 4

múžo Postp OblSg > *muž* S 37

nabát N turn (in succession), occasion S 23

nabát nabáta turn by turn, in turn Cf *nabát*, *nabáta* S 23

nabáta 1LocSg > *nabát* S 23

nahánǵ N ogre S 11 26 27 30 34 Prs. Lorimer: "na ŋ, (n ʃhaŋ)"

nahánǵo OblSg > *nahánǵ* S 21 33

nisíni 3PlPret > *nisik* S 49

nisír 3SgPret > *nisik* S 50 53

nisétam 1SgPret > *nisik* S 40

nisik V go away; come out, rise (sun, moon); mount, appear, pass through, recover

nisini 3PlPres > *nisik* S 56

nili Abs of *nilik* V sit down S 20 T 7467

niži Abs of *nižik* V take off clothes, flay S 37 T 7183 7324

no Av not S 48 49 72 86 90 T 6906

oce Conj and S 26 66 89

oréitay 3SgPret of *oreik* V sleep S 30 T 807

ótotam 1SgPret > *šik* S 44

otóy 3SgPret > *šik* S 68

oyóy 3SgPret > *žibik* S 27 28

pacéik V boil, cook T 7654

paciáw Presp > *paceik* S 23

paláwe 2SgImp of *paléik* V show Caus > *polik* S 79

pay N goat S 24

payán OblPl > *pay* S 36 39

páyo payú OblSg > *pay* S 26 28 37 38

pažál N shepherd S 36 T 7987

pęç A hot S 32 T 7641

phuk A quiet, silent S 29

phósto OblSg of *phost* N skin, hide S 37 Prs

phrétam 1SgPret > *dik* S 51 56 75

póna 1LocSg of *pon* N road, patch S 3 47 81 T 7785

póritay 3SgPret of *porik* V lie down, fall asleep S 28 T 7722

poši Abs > *polik* S 85

polik V see T 8012

póšitam 1SgPret > *polik* S 48

póšitay 3SgPret > *polik* S 72

prav 3SgPret > *dik* S 58

prušṭi Av, Postp 2LocSg before S 18

qesma 1LocSg of Lorimer *qism*/*qisum* N kind, sort, manner S 41 Prs

rafiqán NomPl of *rafeq* N comrade, companion S 1

rahi N going S 16 36 80

randežú/*rándežu* N roasted meat, kabáb S 26 27 28 T 10614

re Abs > *reik* S 16 56 76 80 83 T 10620

reik V say T 10620

rétam 1SgPret > *reik* S 55 84

rétay 3SgPret > *reik* S 6 8 12 43 53 61 64 65 77

riphi Abs of *ruphik* V rise S 31

roçháǵ NAg of *roçhik* V graze, herd cattle S 24 T 1054-57

royán OblPl of *roy* N people (coll.), person(s) S 22 48 T 10860

safáro OblSg of *safar* N travel S 2

saxtiari AblSg of *saxti* N difficulty S 41

sor N head, ear of corn

sóra Postp 2LocPostp on Cf *sor* S 7 70 83 88

soro OblSg > *sor* S 88

sum Postp with S 16

šarán N court-yard S 19 T 12326

šarána 1LocSg > *šarán* S 68

šer 3SgPres > *šik* S 7 19 79 86

šik V be (inanimate subj., but in the augmented pret also animate)

šikár N hunting S 45

šiniy 3SgPret > *šik* S 47

ṣadár N servant S 44

ṣapik N bread S 15

ṣapik-pacedk N bread-baker S 77 Cf *ṣapik*, *pacéik* (-*ak* NAg)

ṣapik-pacidko/-*pacedko* OblSg > *ṣapik-pacedk* S 44 75 82

ta OblSg > *tu*[1] S 15

tan ReflPrn self, own S 4 9 38 58 70 83 88

te Postp to S 2 12 15 53 55 58 64 73 75 84

tógo OblSg of *te* NDemPron that S 51 62 63 84

tóritam 1SgPret of *torik* V arrive, overtake, compare with S 17 T 5702 5796

truṣni A thirsty S 14

tu[1] Prn thou S 42 65 89 T 5889

tu[2] Postp into S 31 63 Cf T 3567

uǵ N water S 15 60 T 1921

uǵ-pidru N thirst S 46

ustadio OblSg of *ustadi* N artifice S 88

uṣṭúri Abs > *uṣṭúrik* S 75

uṣṭúrik V flee

uṣṭúritam 1SgPret > *uṣṭúrik* S 74

útetam 1SgPret > *utik* S 37

uti Abs > *utik* S 39

utik V enter

wáxta 1LocSg of *waxt* N time S 10 44

wežén N evening S 27

wežéna 1LocSg > *wežén* S 26

xalás A released S 41 88

xatán N house, room S 19

xézmat/*xezmát* A tired S 3 5

xezmatgáro OblSg of *xezmatgár* N servant or slave of a very low class or grade S 64

xoip N dream S 85

ẓel Av out S 31 33 62 63

ẓiu Av out S 50

žága N place S 11

žibáǵ NAg > *žibik* S 23

žibik V eat T 10507

žirgéi Abs > *žirgéik* S 35

žirgéik V wail, lament

žirgéitay 3SgPret > *žirgéik* S 34 52

3. Phonological remarks

1. Segmental phonology
1.1. Consonants
1.1.1. Phoneme inventory

The consonant symbols used in Morgenstierne's handwritten *Khowar Vocabulary* (*KhVoc*) are shown in (1). The phonetic terminology is adopted from Ladefoged (1973). We shall presuppose that (1) constitutes the consonant phoneme inventory of Khowar.

There are a few striking "holes" in this system. Consider the set of affricates:

Dentialveolar	ċ		
Retroflex	ç	çh	
Palatoalveolar	c	ch	j

No /ċh/ has been registered by Morgenstierne, as far as we know. The sounds [dz] and [ḍẓ] are found, but apparently as allophones of /z/ and /ẓ/ respectively; cf. 1.1.2.4. The opposition between /ç/ and /çh/ seems to be quite marginal; cf. 2.3.4.1.

1.1.2. Allophonic variation

1.1.2.1. /n/ has the same place of articulation as an immediately following obstruent: /nt/ is pronounced [nt], /nṭ/ [ṇṭ], /nk/ [ŋk], and so on. When not followed by an obstruent, it is dentialveolar.

1.1.2.2. /r/ is unvoiced before (some or all?) unvoiced consonants. /lórtitay/ (s. 35) has been transcribed in one of Morgenstierne's manuscripts with an unvoiced /r/. This phoneme even shows a tendency to change into /h/ when unvoiced, cf. e.g. the verb /berc-/ "to remain", which in *KhVoc* is also found as /behc-/. (Note that /biçhèiru/ in s.4 is perf. part. of /biçhé-/, which in *KhVoc* is registered as /bercé-/ "to leave behind". It is impossible for us to judge whether the variation between /hc/ and /çh/ here is real.)

[1] Our transcription does not correspond to any of the systems that Morgenstierne used. Still we have not thought it necessary to present any systematic table showing the correspondences between the different systems, since our own transcription is fully defined in the chapter on Khowar phonology.

[2] Knut Kristiansen is responsible for part 1. Rolf Theil Endresen for par part 3. Both are responsible for part 2.

(1)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
BILABIAL	p	ph	b	m				
LABIODENTAL					f			
DENTIALVEOLAR	t	th	d	n	s	z	l	
" AFFRICATE	ċ							
APICAL ALVEOLAR								r
RETROFLEX	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ		ṣ	ẓ	ḷ	
" AFFRICATE	ç	çh						
PALATOALVEOLAR					š	ž		
" AFFRICATE	c	ch	j					
PALATAL							y	
VELAR	k	kh	g		x	ǵ		
LABIALVELAR							w	
UVULAR	q							
GLOTTAL							h	
	unasp.	asp.	voiced	nasal	unvoiced	voiced	approximants	vibrants/taps
	unvoiced							
	plosives/affricates				fricatives			

(2)

UNROUNDED		ROUNDED	
FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	
i		u	HIGH
e		o	MID
	a		LOW

1.1.2.3. /h/ is (sometimes or always?) pronounced as [ϕ] (unvoiced bilabial fricative) after rounded vowels; cf. e.g. /nyoh/ "nine", which is pronounced [nyoϕ] according to *KhVoc*. (Buddruss (1975) says that the pronunciation of this word is "heute meist *nyof*".)

1.1.2.4. /z/ and /ẓ/ are (sometimes or always?) pronounced as affricates after /n/. According to Buddruss (1975) the word for "polo ball", which in *KhVoc* has the form /pḷinz/, is pronounced "pḷinj", i.e. [pḷindz]. He also says that he has heard the words which Morgenstierne has registered as /krenj/ "wrinkle" and /wrenjėik/ "to fry" as "krenj", i.e. [krendẓ], and "wrenj-", i.e. [wrendẓ-]. Since we only have [dz] and [dẓ] after /n/, we cannot but regard them as allophones of /z/ and /ẓ/ respectively. In fact, there does not seem to be any opposition between voiced affricates and the corresponding voiced fricatives in this environment at all. Even the opposition between /j/ and /ž/ is apparently neutralized in this position, where we find only /j/.

1.2. Vowels

1.2.1. Phoneme inventory

The vowel phonemes of Khowar seem to be that of (2), which is used by Morgenstierne in both *KhVoc* and in *Ju rafeqán*.

Quantity does not seem to be distinctive. Morgenstierne (1947, p. 8-9, note 3) says:

> "The phonological value of quantity is often doubtful, except, usually, in the case of ā:a".

Cf. 1.2.2.1. for allophonic vowel quantity.

1.2.2. Allophonic variation

1.2.2.1. Stressed vowels seem to be longer than unstressed vowels. The oblique infinitive of the verb /bik/ "to become" is written with stress on the first syllable in s.25, i.e. /bíko/, and with stress on the last syllable in s.27, i.e. /bikó/. In one version of this tale vowel quantity is marked. Then /i/ is long and /o/ is short in /bíko/, and /i/ is short and /ó/ is long in /bikó/. There are many occurrences of long /a/ in unstressed syllables. /báġetam/ in s.39 is transcribed as "b'āyatām" in one version. We leave the question of the distinctive function of the opposition between [a:] and [a] open.

1.2.2.2. Vowels seem to exhibit a front/back variation depending on the surrounding consonants (and vowels?). Examples: /e/ is pronounced as [ë] in /boghé/ (s.65), /ghéčo/ (s.33), and /re/ (s.16 etc.), but apparently as [e] in e.g. /yéi/ (s.31 etc.). /u/ is pronounced as [ü] in /chúyo/ (s.37), but apparently as [u] in e.g. /çhuy/ (s.14,60). Palatal environment seems to make vowels more front, and non-palatal environment seems to make them more back.

2. Prosodic phonology

2.1. Stress

Most Khowar words seem to have one stressed syllable (here stress is marked with an acute accent above the vowel), some words have perhaps two stressed syllables, e.g. /bathánari/ (s.2).

The placement of stress is phonologically determined to the extent that stress has to be on one of the three last syllables of the word. Examples: Last syllable: /rafeqán/ (s.1), /birú/ (s.3), /xezmát/, /asúr/, /korár/ (s.5). Penultimate syllable: /biráni/ (s.1), /bóġdu/, /safáro/ (s.2), /póna/, /xézmat/ (s.3). The antepenultimate syllable: /báġetam/ (s.10), /póritay/ (s.28), /máşkiran/ (s.60).

But notice that there seems to be several words where the stress varies: /áluko/ (s.70), but /alúko/ (s.71); /áwa/ (s.9 etc.), but /awá/ in *KhVoc*; /bíko/ (s.25), but /bikó/ (s.27); /bíti/ (s.5,86), but /bití/ (s.14); /duró/ (s.15), but /dúro/ (s.73); /gíti/ (s.7), but /gití/ (s.59,81); /hátoġo/ (s.5), but /hatóġo/ (s.55); /máşkiran/ (s.60), but /maşkirán/ (s.60, another version); /páyo/ (s.26,38), but /payó/ (s.28,37); /randežú/ (s.26,27,28), but /rándežu/ (another version of the text); /şadár/ (S. 44), but /şádar/ (another version of the text); /xézmat/ (s.3), but /xezmát/ (s.5).

Since we don't know the reason for this variation, an exhaustive analysis of the stress system is not possible. Still it is worthwhile to mention that most of the words seem to support the following hypothesis:

i. Khowar morphs may be divided into two groups on the basis of stress. Group 1 we shall call 'stressable morphs', and group 2 'unstressable morphs'.
ii. A morph is 'stressable' if its n-th syllable ever is stressed, and a morph is 'unstressable' if it never has any stressed syllable.
iii. At the morphophonological level the n-th syllable of a stressable morph is stressed, while all other syllables are unstressed.
iv. To obtain the stress conditions of the phonemic level, where as a rule not more than one syllable per word is stressed, let only the last stressed syllable of the morphophonological representation of a word remain stressed, and let all other stressed syllables become unstressed.

The group of 'stressable morphs' contains all the roots and some of the affixes, while the remaining affixes constitute the group of 'unstressable morphs'.

Let us give a few examples. The word /paceák/ "a cook" must have a morphophonological representation like //pác+é+ák//. //ák// is the "noun of agency" suffix. It is stressed in /paceák/, and is therefore also stressed in the morphophonological representation. //é// is a causative suffix, which is stressed e.g. in the infinitive /pacéik/ "to cook", which has the morphophonological representation //pác+é+ik//, with the 'unstressable' infinitive suffix //ik//. //pác// is 'stressable' because it is stressed when followed by only 'unstressable' morphs; cf. e.g. /pócitay/ "it boiled (intr.)", from //póc+ita+y//. (Notice the /o/~/a/ alternation in the root /pac-/~/poc-/ "boil (intr.)", which we have not taken into consideration here. But cf. paragraph 3.)

2.2. Tonemes

Morgenstierne claims that Khowar is a toneme language. Our main source of information is the following paragraph in a letter which Morgenstierne sent to his wife Agnes in 1929, here translated into English by us:

> "The last days I have been working with Khowar, and this work has been profitable, because it appears that Khowar also has "tones". (Now I write a few lines of "shop" for father in law alone instead of sending a separate letter to him. You have to tolerate that!) Words with unaspirated initial has high tone, a little falling towards the end, e.g. *kȃr* "ear". Aspirates give low, rising tone, e.g. *khǎr* "flower bed". One has assumed that the aspiration of mediae is lost in Khowar. But it turns out that Khowar, like after a closer examination most of the Dardic languages, has retained traces of it, at least partly. First, the originally aspirated mediae also give a low, rising tone, and in addition the aspiration is retained as a vibration of the vocal cords (but probably with closed glottis, so that there does not become much breath) between the consonant and the vowel. E.g. *dȃn* "tooth", but *d·ǎn* "ghee" (< **dadhan-*); *gȃl* "gorge", but *g·ǎl* "valley" (*ghal* in other Dardic languages); *bȃl* "army", but *b·ǎl* "supper". A word like *dʰhār* "hillside" may be borrowed from another Dardic dialect (you find *dhār* "mountain"). Strangely enough *chǎr* "4" is aspirated, possibly influenced by *çhǎi* "6". (Or Persian *čahār*?)"

If there is some kind of "vibration of the vocal cords between the consonant and the vowel", then Khowar cannot really be characterized as a toneme language. Instead we had to revise the consonant system of (1) to include some murmured (cf. Ladefoged 1973) plosives. But Buddruss (1977) writes:

> "Another problem of Khowār phonology is the rising tone. We find the rising tone in monosyllabic words, which originally had an aspirated voiced stop. There are minimal pairs of the type *don* "tooth": *dòn* "ghee". There seems to be no fixed rule how to write this rising tone in the Khowār script. Informants from Drosh suggested to write an ḫ after the initial consonant, because in Drosh a slight aspiration is still audible. For other parts of Chitral the writing of an ḫ would be only historically justified, not synchronically. Usually *don* "tooth" and *dòn* "ghee" are not justified in writing".

Does the second sentence in this quotation mean that the opposition between the high falling toneme of the word for "tooth", which we shall propose to write /dȍn/, and the low rising toneme of the word for "ghee", which we shall propose to write /dǒn/, is neutralized e.g. in the obl.sg. forms of these words, or are they still different, i.e. /dòno/ and /dóno/?

2.3. Phonotactics

2.3.1. Initial consonants

2.3.1.1. Single consonants

All the consonants in (1) occur alone in the beginning of words. (Words may also begin with a vowel.)

2.3.1.2. Consonant clusters

The following consonant clusters are found in the beginning of the words in *KhVoc* and in *Ju rafeqán*:

a. / pl pḷ pr phl phr bl bḷ br
tr thr dr
kl kḷ ky kr khy gl gy gr /
b. / cr /
c. / fr sr šr xḷ zr ġr /
d. / mr ny /
e. / wr /

2.3.2. Intervocalic consonants

2.3.2.1. Single consonants

All the consonants of (1) have been found, except /ḍ/ and /ç/. As for /ç/, cf. 2.3.4.

2.3.2.2. Consonant clusters

We have found altogether 93 two-consonant clusters and 9 three-consonant clusters:

a. / spr špr str štr mbr ndr ngy rtr ržy /
b. / ṭk xc
sp ṣp šp šph zb st št xt xd ṣṭ šṭ sk ṣk šk žk zg ẓg
mb mt nth nd nṭ nḍ nk nkh ng mçh nc nj gn
ġz ẓġ ġš
rp lph lb rb tr lt rt dr rd ld ṭr lk rk kr lkh rkh
lc rc rj
sl rs rz rẓ šl šr rx xl xr lġ lġ ġl ġl
sn sm ṣm ṣn ẓn šn šm nž žn žm xn xm
wc ws wz wž ml rm rn lw rw ry rh hr hl

2.3.3. Final consonants
2.3.3.1. Single consonants
The following word final consonants are found in *KhVoc*:

p	m	f			
t	n	s	z	l	r
c					
ṭ		ṣ	ẓ	ḷ	
ç					
c		š	ž	y	
k		x	ġ	w	
q					
		h			

Notice that the consonants that do not occur word-finally are the aspirated and the voiced plosives and affricates, meaning that the opposition between the three rows A, B and C of (1) is neutralized. Due to this neutralization the allophonic variation of plosives and affricates in word-final position seems to be greater than in other environments. Consider the following words in *Ju rafeqán*: /halieg/ (s.22), /žibág/ (s.23), /roçhág/ (s.24), /alág/, /angyág/ (s.25), /korág/ (s.26). /ag/~/eg/ in these words is the "noun of agency" suffix (Morgenstierne 1947, p. 28), which usually has the form /ak/, cf. /ṣapik-paccák/ (s.77) "bread-baker", obl.sg. /ṣapik-paceáko/ (s.82). The final /k/ changes (regularly?) into /g/ when the following words starts with a voiced obstruent: In fact all the wordforms ending in /g/ above are followed by /biráy/.

In the text of *Ju rafeqán* there is one word which has a final /d/: /faryád/ "complaining" (s.34). This is a Persian loanword, cf. Persian /farya:d/ "shout" (n.), and this may explain its irregular pronunciation.

2.3.3.2. Consonant clusters.
One three-consonant cluster has been found: /nsk/, and 33 two-consonant clusters:

kt ṭk ft çk xt xc kr wz
sp st sk ṣp ṣṭ ṣk šp št šṭ šk
nd nṭ nḍ nc nj nk ng nz
rp rt rč rc rj rz ḷk

Notice particularly that there seem to be weaker restrictions on final plosives and affricates when they are preceded by a nasal or /r/ than when they are preceded by a vowel: We find both /nṭ/ and /nḍ/, both /nc/ and /nj/, both /nk/ and /ng/, and both /rc/ and /ng/, and both (rc/ and /rj/.

2.3.4. Additional notes on phonotactics
2.3.4.1. The relation between /ç/ and /çh/
The basis for regarding /ç/ and /çh/ as two different phonemes is rather weak. Notice the following facts:
a. The opposition between /ç/ and /çh/ is neutralized in the end of words.
b. No /ç/ has been found intervocalically.
Thus the word initial position is the only one where /ç/ and /ch/ could be in opposition. In *Ju rafeqán* there are no words with initial /ç/, while there is one word with initial /çh/: /çhuy/ "hungry" (s.14,60). In *KhVoc* there are 18 words with initial /çh/, and only *two* words with initial /ç/: /çaçk/ "some kind of wasp", /çarwelu/ "head-man of several villages".

2.3.4.2. Intervocalic semivowels
There does not seem to be any opposition in Khowar between /iV/ and /uV/ (where V = vowel) on one hand and /iyV/ and /uwV/ on the other. But the transcription is inconsistent on this point. We have /beri(y)ár/ (s.67), /paciáw/ (s.23) (not */paciyáw/); /juwán/ (s.59), but /lúo/ (s.7,9) (not */lúwo/); in *KhVoc* we find e.g. /uluik/ "to fly" and /uluweik/ "to make fly", but /burtuik/ "to be afraid" and /burtueik/ "to frighten"; and /thu(w)ek/ "rifle".

It would be preferable *never or always* to write the /w/ and the /y/ in such cases. Perhaps the best solution is never to write them, to avoid the alternations Ø~/y/ and Ø~/w/ when suffixes are added: /lu/, /lúo/ instead of /lu/, /lúwo/, and /béri/, /beriár/ instead of /béri/, /beriyár/.

2.3.4.3. Postvocalic semivowels and high vowels

There is apparently an opposition in Khowar between vowel plus a high vowel, i.e. /Vi/ and /Vu/, and vowel plus a semivowel, i.e. /Vy/ and /Vw/. We have /ei/ in /biçhéiru/ (s.4) (4 syllables) and /žirġéitay/ (s.34) (4 syllables); /ou/ in /hatóu/ (s.22) (3 syllables); /ui/ in /húi/ (s.62) (2 syllables). We have /oy/ in /hoy/ (s.32); /ay/ in /biráy/ (s.26 etc.); /aw/ in /asitaw/ (s.13); /uy/ in /çhuy/ (s.60).

In several cases we do not know if we have a vowel plus a high vowel or a vowel plus a semivowel: /oróitay/ (s.30), /yei/ (s.31,33,63), /žirġéi/ (s.35), /hatéi/ (s.66), /burtúitam/ (s.83). There is, however, reason to believe that all these words have vowel plus high vowel. Compare /oróitay/, /burtúitam/ and /žirġei/ with /žirġéitay/; compare /yei/ "hither" and /hatéi/ "there" with /hei/ "there". That is why we have written them the way we have done in the text.

3. Morphophonological alternations

3.1. Phonologically conditioned alternations

3.1.1. Neutralization of word final plosives and affricates

In 2.3.3.1. was mentioned the neutralization word-finally of the opposition between the three rows of plosives and affricates. The normal representative of the neutralization product is the unvoiced, unaspirated row, which is exactly what is expected in such a structurally conditioned neutralization.

Because of this neutralization we get several instances of morphophonological alternations like the following:

Intervocalic unvoiced aspirated plosives/affricates are deaspirated word-finally:

/loṭhoró/ Comp of /loṭ/ A big, large, old
/uṭho/ OblSg of /uṭ/ N camel
/oçhi/ N green meadow, derived from /oç/ A green, blue

One should also expect to find intervocalic voiced plosives becoming devoiced word-finally. But no examples have been found until now. The reason is simply that voiced plosives/affricates are quite rare intervocalically. The following table shows the text frequency of intervocalic single consonants in *Ju rafeqán*:

(Plosives and affricates are marked with an asterisk for the sake of clarity.)

*/t/	85	/š/	14	/z/	3
/r/	65	*/k/	12	*/kh/	2
/s/	41	/h/	9	/f/	2
/w/	22	/λ/	8	*/d/	2
/n/	22	/m/	7	*/ṭh/	2
*/c/	19	*/p/	7	*/çh/	2
/ġ/	17	*/b/	4	/x/	2
/y/	16	/ḷ/	4	*/ph/	2
/l/	15	*/q/	4	*/th/	1

Of the 36 consonant phonemes of (1) the following 9 are not found intervocalically in this text: /č ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ ç ch j g/ (/ç ḍ/ have not been found in *KhVoc* either. Cf. 2.3.2.1.), and 3 out of altogether 5 voiced plosives/affricates are among them. The two occurring voiced plosives constitute 3,1 percent of the occurrences of plosives and affricates, compared to 10,3 — which would have been the number if all plosives and affricates had the same text frequency.

3.1.2. Vowel insertion in word final clusters

In 2.3.3.2. all the word final consonant clusters found in *Ju rafeqán* and *KhVoc* were listed. On that basis the following generalization will be made:

Word final consonant cluster constraint I

The last consonant of a word final consonant cluster is never a sonorant.

Now consider the following wordforms:

/kórum/ N work. OblSg: /kórmo/.
/dróxum/ N silver. OblSg: /dróxmo/.
/ġiyárum/ N utensil. OblPl: /ġiyarman/ plates.
/reṣun/ (placename) Reshun. OblSg: /reṣno/.
/qisum/ (Lorimer) N kind, sort. 1LocSg: /qesma/.
/šutur/ N thread. InstrSg: /šutren/.

The alternation between /u/ and O which can be observed here may be taken account of by means of a rule like the following:

Vowel insertion

$$O \rightarrow /u/ \; / \; C _ \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\text{son} \end{bmatrix} \#$$

— provided that the morphophonological representations of the nominative singular forms above are //korm//, //droxm//, //giyarm//, //resn//, //qesm// (or //qism//), and //šutr//.

The opposite rule, that is one that deletes /u/ in the following environment:

VC _ [C, + son]V

would probably not work, because there does not seem to be any prohibitions against any kinds of CVCV-sequences, cf. e.g. the word /drózunu/ N "a plant which bites on touch", which has exactly the sequence which would be disallowed by a deletion-rule like the one above.

One may have observed that the form /fikr/ N thinking occurs in *Ju rafeqàn*. Through our vowel insertion rule it is given an exceptional status. This treatment of /fikr/ as an exception is supported by the fact that elsewhere, e.g. in song no. V in Wazir Ali Shah and Georg Morgenstierne (1959), it has been found in the form /fikir/.

3.2. Grammatically conditioned alternations

3.2.1. Vowel alternation in verbs

Most verbs that have /o/ in the stem in the infinitive change this /o/ into /a/ in the aorist and in the causative.

Examples:

/pošik/ inf., see

		sg	pl
Aorist:		sg	pl
	1	/pašim	pašisi
	2	pašis	pašimi
	3	pašir	pašini/

Causative: /pašėik/ show
3Sg Preterite: /pôšitay/

/pocik/ inf., boil (intr.)

		sg	pl
Aorist:	1	/pacum	pacusi
	2	pacus	pacumi
	3	pacur	pacuni/

Causative: /pacėik/
3Sg Preterite: /pocitay/

/porik/ inf., fall asleep

		sg	pl
Aorist:	1	/parim	parisi
	2	paris	parimi
	3	parir	parini/

Causative: /porėik/
3Sg Preterite: /poritay/

The last verb above, /porik/, does not change the vowel in the causative. There are verbs that do not change the vowel in the aorist either:

/korik/ inf., do

		sg	pl
Aorist:	1	/korom	korosi
	2	koros	koromi
	3	koror	koroni/

Causative: /korėik/ arrange
3Sg Preterite: /arėr/ or /koritay/

On the basis of the verbs listed in *KhVoc* it seems possible to claim that the verbs that *have* the /o/-/a/ alternation are the regular ones. They clearly are in a majority.

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KOHWAR ALPHABET

ث	ٹ	ت	پ	ب	ا
ح	ځ	څ	ݯ	چ	ݮ	ج
ڑ	ر	ذ	ڈ	د	خ
ݰ	ش	س	ݫ	ژ	ز
غ	ع	ظ	ط	ض	ص
م	ل	گ	ک	ق	ف
ے	ی	ء	ہ	و	ن

Appendix B:

APPENDIX C:

GUIDE TO THE PHONEMIC WRITING SYSTEM

a	ا	z	ز، ذ، ض، ظ
b	ب	zh	ژ
p	پ	Zh	ژؕ
ph	پھ	s	س، ث، ص
t	ت، ط	sh	ش
th	تھ	Sh	شؕ
T	ٹ	gh	غ
Th	ٹھ	f	ف
j	ج	q	ق
J	جؕ	k	ک
c	چ	kh	کھ
ch	چھ	g	گ
C	چؕ	l	ل
Ch	چؕھ	m	م
ts	څ	n	ن
tsh	ثھ	w	و
dz	ځ	u	و
x	خ	o	و
d	د	h	ه، ح
D	ڈ	y	ی
r	ر	i	ی
L	ڑ	e	ے